THE SADI QASABA OF MARRAKESH

Barrucand, Marianne. "The Case of the Sadi Qasaba of Marrakech." In Environmental Design: Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre 1-2, edited by Attilo Petruccioli, 18-27. Rome: Carucci Editore, 1989.
https://s3.us-east-1.amazonaws.com/media.archnet.org/system/publications/contents/3224/original/DPC0769.pdf?1384773946

As a result of recent research on Islamic urbanism, the Islamic city no longer appears as an abstract entity, but as a multitude of varied and complex town structures.[1] It is no longer possible to identify one standard type of Islamic city, and behind the obvious common features such as at Lahore, Damascus or Fez, there are significant, and no less obvious, differences.

ROYAL CITIES

A very special group is formed by royal Islamic cities:[2] these are complex structures, created for and by the sovereign, destined to house him and his whole court, including harem, slaves, servants, guards, craftsmen and civil servants. These cities are much more than simple palaces. They combine the different functions required of daily princely life, with the need for security, the exigencies of government and administration. The complex structures which respond to all these requirements are "cities" by extension according to the number of people they house and the variety of their occupations. But their population is, of course, very different from that of a normally developed city which has its own administrative and social structures, and its own connections between the different social groups both within the city itself and in the surrouding country. The status of all those groups within royal cities depends directly on the personal relationship with the sovereign; usually this urban population has no ties with the people of the surrounding region.
The evolution of this urbanism is evidently tightly bound up with the concept of sovereignty. The governmental system of the Umayyads was still quite near to the ancient Arabic principle of "primus inter pares". With the Abbasids, or at least with al-Mansur, a much more elaborate and more rigid system had come into being. At the same time, secular princely architecture underwent a spectacular change. From individual palace structures (the "desert castles"),[3] cities with classical prototypes (Anjar),[4] and seignorial cities (Qasr al-Hayr al-Sharqi),[5] to capitals such as Baghdad and Samarra, the process is rather more a transformation than an evolution.
The circular city of Baghdad[6] is the first well known example of royal Islamic urbanism. Samarra[7] and Aghlabid period Raqqa[8] go back to the 9th century, while the Fatamid foundations of SabraMansuriyya[9] and al-Qahira,[10] and the Spanish-Umayyad Madinat al-Zahra[11] belong to the 10th century. In the western Islamic world there are the Qala of Banu Hammad,[12] Almohad Marrakesh[13] and the equally Almohad, but never finished, Rabat,[14] the Marinid Fez al-Jadid,[15] the Nasrid Alhambra,[16] the Sadid Marrakesh[17] and the Alawi royal cities of Meknes,[18] Marrakesh[19]and Rabat. In the eastern Islamic world, Lashkari-Bazar[20] is an outstanding example. A great many royal foundations were destroyed and still await excavation, as for instance the Mongol Il-khanid creations. The Timurid Shahr-i Sabz, Samarkand[21] and Herat[22] are worth studying from this point of view, as are, for later periods, Bukhara and Khiva.[23] The Safavid part of Isfahan[24] is, in fact, a true royal city, though the separation from the bourgeois part of the town is less distinct here than in most other cases.
Mughal creations like the forts of Agra, Lahore, Allahabad, Shahjahanabad[25] and, most of all, Fatehpur Sikri[26] are fine examples of Islamic royal cities, but at the same time they belong to a properly Indian tradition of royal urbanism[27] which existed from the time of ancient India up till the 19th century. It would be interesting to distinguish cities those features that are Indian in Mughal cities from those that are part of the Turco-Persian legacy, and those that are specifically Islamic.
A special kind of royal city is that which lodged a whole dynasty, for instance the Alhambra, Sadi Marrakesh, or Safavid Isfahan. The most outstanding example is the Topkapi Saray,[28] the occupation of which outlasted other similar royal foundations. The original layout of the Topkapi was little changed throughout the centuries, though particular arrangements were often modified. The history of this royal city is a reflected image of that of the Ottoman dynasty, which, from the end of the 16th century, lived on the glory of the past, and at the same time was confined by it.
The royal city is distinct from a citadel flanking a more or less independent town. Such fortified princely dwellings were a particular feature of the later Middle Ages and were the obvious reflection of a less solid, more limited royal authority.
Nevertheless, the bounds set between the personal city of a sovereign, the dynastic royal city and the simple citadel are often fluid. Fatehpur Sikri and Meknes evidently belong to the first type, the Topkapi Saray and the Alhambra to the second, the citadel of Damascus to the third; on the other hand,

AIR PHOTOGRAPH OF MARRAKECH, SOUTHERN PART OF THE CITY WITH SA'DI *QASABA*
(DOCUMENT OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF GEOGRAPHY)

the citadel of Aleppo should be classed as a multi-dynastic royal city.
To arrive at a closer understanding of Islamic royal urbanism, it is first necessary to define the constant features of these royal foundations by examining them one by one. The next step is the comprehension of the specific functions and needs underlying the particular architectual forms of individual examples. This functional approach gives us the key to an understanding of the royal builder's own more or less conscious attitudes to his own sovereignty and its architectural representation. Such an investigation should adopt dialectical methods, combining literary and archaeological sources. Used on a large scale, it should help to establish some kind of classification for these royal cities.
The purpose here is neither to set up an exhaustive list of royal cities of the Islamic world, nor to elaborate their typology; it is simply to propose a method based on a study recently made in Morocco and briefly presented here.

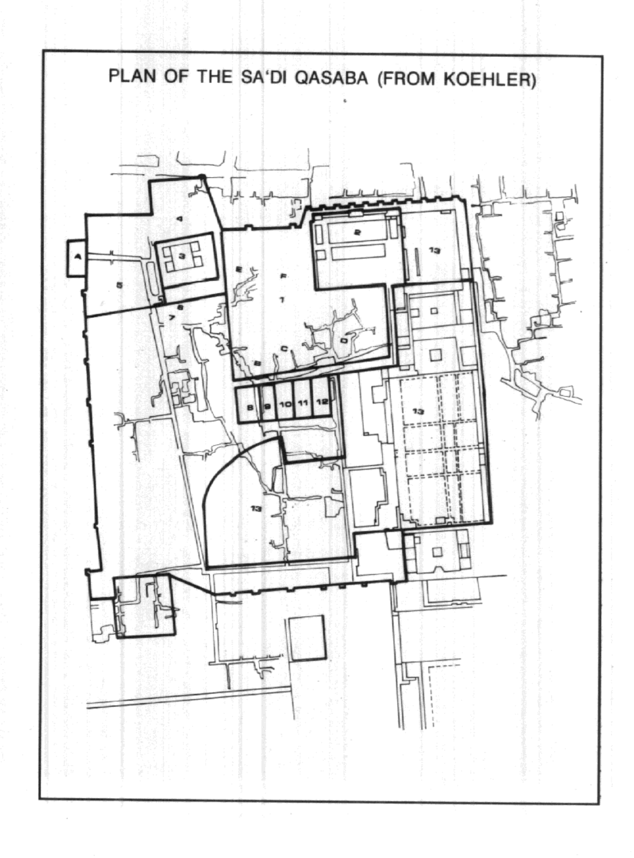
THE SADI QASABA OF MARRAKESH

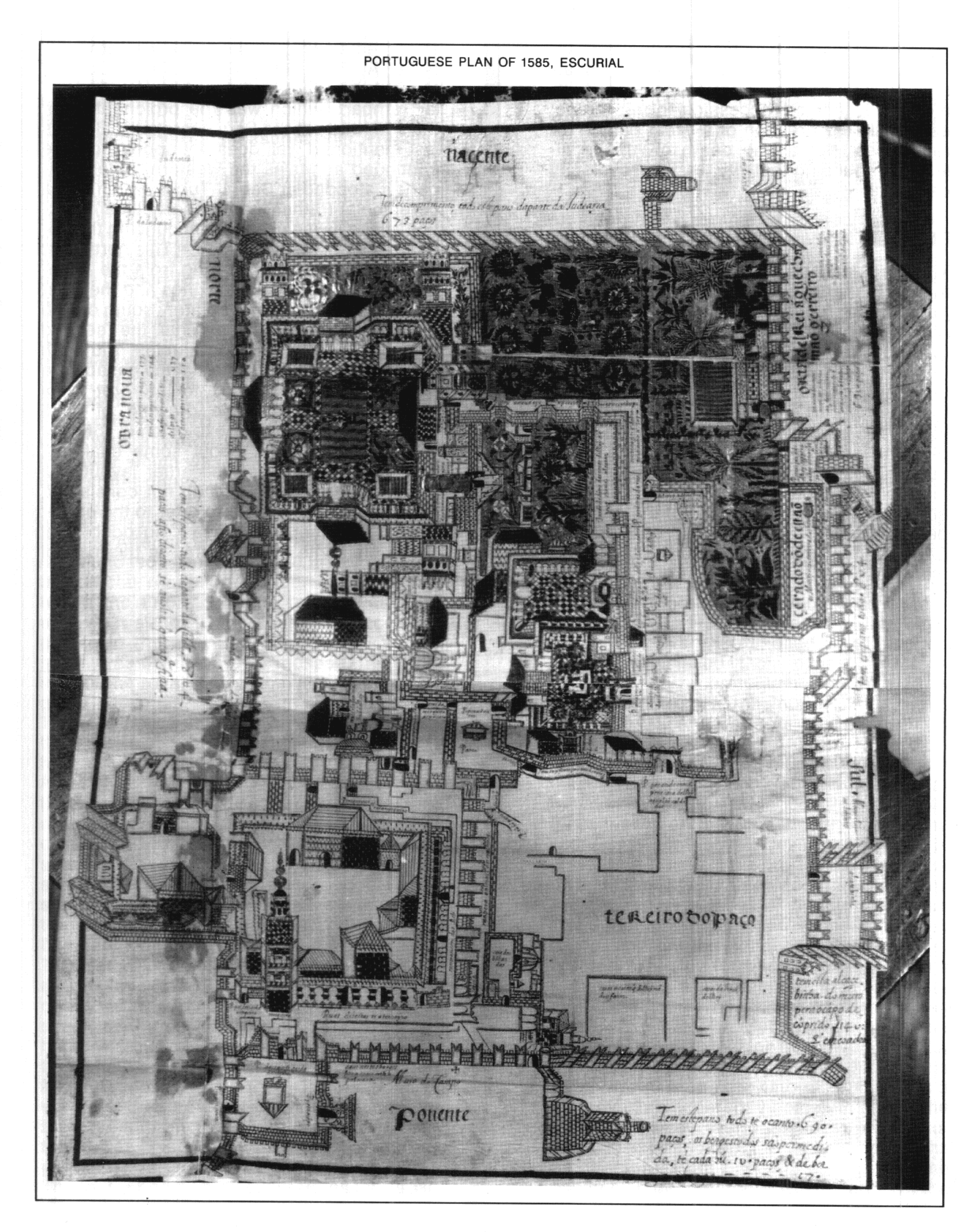
The qasaba of Mawlay Ismail in Meknes is well preserved and is certainly one of the most characteristic royal cities; the Sadi qasaba of Marrakesh was built a hundred years earlier and is more difficult to comprehend, but it is none the less worth examining from the same point of view. The Marrakesh example was built within the walls of the Almohad qasaba of the 12th century, but most of the interior buildings seem to have been the work of the Sadis. It is in a bad state of preservation, but its original appearance can nevertheless be reconstructed through stuying the remaining ruins, a Portuguese drawing of 1585 and some contemporary Arabic and European descriptions.[29] Modern Marrakesh largely covers this part, which makes an exhaustive archaeological survey impossible to carry out. To add to this difficulty, it is not always evident which walls belong to the Sadi period and which are Almohad; furthermore, the datings within the Sadi period are not always certain either. In spite of these restrictions, it is possible to recognize the principal features of the Sadi royal city.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Sadi dynasty came from Arabia in the 14th century and settled in Suse. Its success in the 16th century was due to its military prowess, to its qualities as administrators and, above all, to the political and economic situation in Morocco. The reigning dynasty was powerless against the centrifugal tribal forces, and against the Christian and Turkish threats; the economic situation of the country was disastrous. The propaganda of the Sadis, which was destined to ally the tribes to them, was based on the idea of jihad. This proved to be effective.
In 1521 the Sadis entered Marrakesh for the first time, but it was only from 1554 on, under Muhammad al-Shaykh, that they were finally able to establish their capital there. It does not seem that this sovereign was much interested in splendid constructions. All that are attributed to him are some restorations and the foundation of a customs-house for Christian merchants.
The general layout and the first important stages in the construction of the qasaba are due to his son and successor, Mawlay Abd Allah al-Ghalib (1557-74), "the greatest builder of the dynasty" (Deverdun). Neither his son, Muhammad al-Mutawwakil al-Maslukh (1574-76), nor his brother, Abd al-Malik al-Ghazi (1576-78), had time to undertake much

PLAN OF THE SA'DI QASABA (FROM KOEHLER)



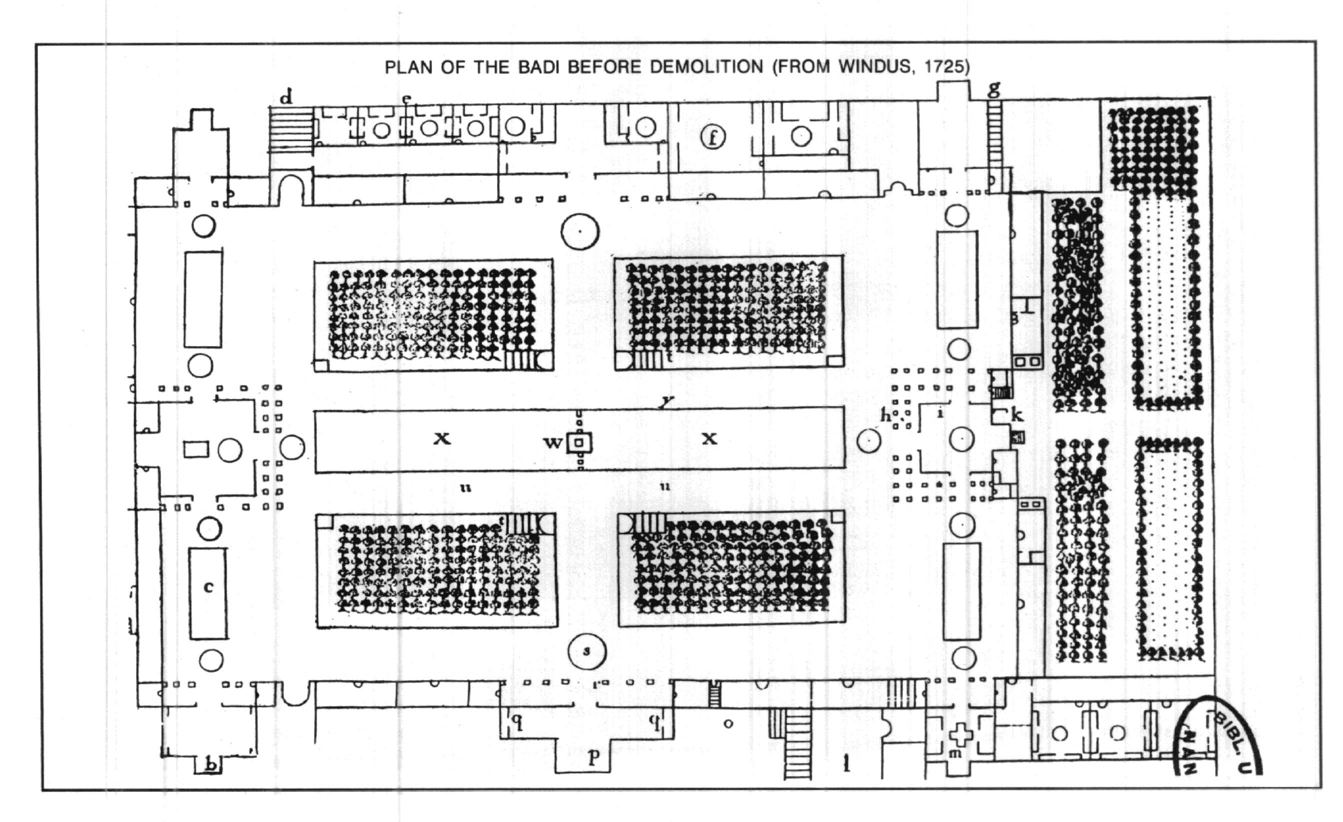

nacente
norte
obra noua
tereiro do paço
Poente
Sul

building. Nevertheless, his other brother, Ahmad al-Mansur (1578-1603), Mansur undertook considerable changes to the qasaba immediately after his accession to the throne, especially the erection of a great palace for receptions. But at the death of Ahmad al-Mansur, building activity in the royal city ceased.

DESCRIPTION

The Sadi qasaba is of approximately rectangular shape and covers about 44 hectares. Its surrounding wall dates back to the Almohad period. The interior space was clarly divided into three parts: the section to the west was open to the public and contained the utilitarian and public institutions; the central part was devoted to the private life of the sovereign; and the east part had gardens which were apparently open to the public. This superficial division can be made more precise: the main entrance, Bab Agnaw and the Friday Mosque, both of the Almohad period, are in the northwest quarter. The Sadi shrines are on the south side of this mosque. From this northwest quarter a long street led south, parallel to the western ramparts. At the level of Bab al-Tubul (Door of the Drums), it crossed a second perpendicular rampart, which was the prolongation of the south wall of the Sadi necropolis. But this last mentioned wall does not appear to have continued as far as the western, outer rampart; it stopped at Bab al-Tubul, which had a ceremonial (rather than topographical) function, since it was used for announcing the appearances of the sovereign.[30] This northwest quarter had granaries dating from the Almohad period, powder-magazines and the "first Christian prison".[31] Immediately south of Bab al-Tubul there were the arsenal, the "second Christian prison" and the stables. Although the descriptions of this part of the qasaba are quite vivid, it is difficult to interpret them alongside a Portuguese drawing of 1585 since a terrible powder explosion in 1569 (or 1562)[32] had brought about some changes. The drawing ignores the earlier layout; the literary descriptions, though not consistent, seem on the other hand to refer to the earlier layout. But there is at least no doubt that these elements were located in this part of the qasaba.

PLAN OF THE BADI BEFORE DEMOLITION (FROM WINDUS, 1725)



The Portuguese drawing "gives" much more space to the parts which seemed important to its author. Thus the proportions of the design are incorrect, although the real distances are indicated in *paços*, and it is easy to calculate the real measurements. The distance from Bab al-Tubul to the south rampart is mush greater than it appears from the drawing. At about 180 m. the north-south street abutted the northwest corner of a wide place, the Asaraq or Great Mashwar,[33] which was situated in front of the district of the palace proper. At the entrance from the Asaraq to the palace, the royal tribunal took place. The Asaraq seems to have measured about 180 m. by 90 m. The houses of high officials were on its south side. Further south, there was a more or less cultivated garden district, extending as far as the southern ramparts. To the east of the place, a door with a watch tower led to the inner Mashwar which was much smaller. An east-west street departed from here. On its south side were the royal services: the customs house, the treasury, tent store, kitchens and stables. After about 250 m. this street turned north and led, after about 150 m. to the Badi, the official reception palace. The area between the Friday Mosque to the west, the east-west street to the south, the reception palace to the east and the ramparts to the north, was occupied by a mosque, the lodgings of the royal family, the hammams and a guest-house.

This central palace district was flanked, on the east, by a garden zone. The Badi itself had, on its east side, a private garden, the Arsat al-Zujaj, which was a kind of prolongation of palace. Outside, between the eastern ramparts and this garden, a rustic area is clearly shown on the Portuguese drawing and equally described by the literary sources. There was a water pool in the south. This part seems to have been open to the public and has been described as a beautifully landscape park.[34]

The Badi palace has often been described, and its ruins are still spectacular. It is evidently a transposition, on a much larger scale, of the Nasrid Lion's Court at the Alhambra. There are vivid evocations of receptions held here in the days of Ahmad al-Mansur. Most noteworthy from our point of view, is the fact that the palace was integrated into the royal lodging quarters, and that it was "therefore only" accessible to the guests of the sultan.

Thus a second pattern supersedes the tripartite division: the central palace district was inserted in an area of public space, purely utilitarian on the west, countrified to the south and east. But it is clear that the separation between these parts was not rigorous.

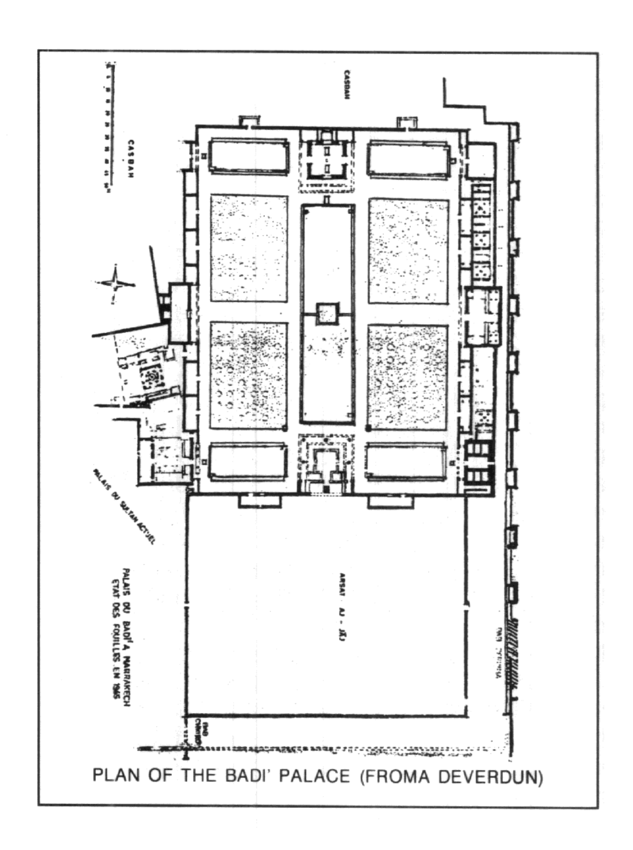
FUNCTIONS OF THE QASABA

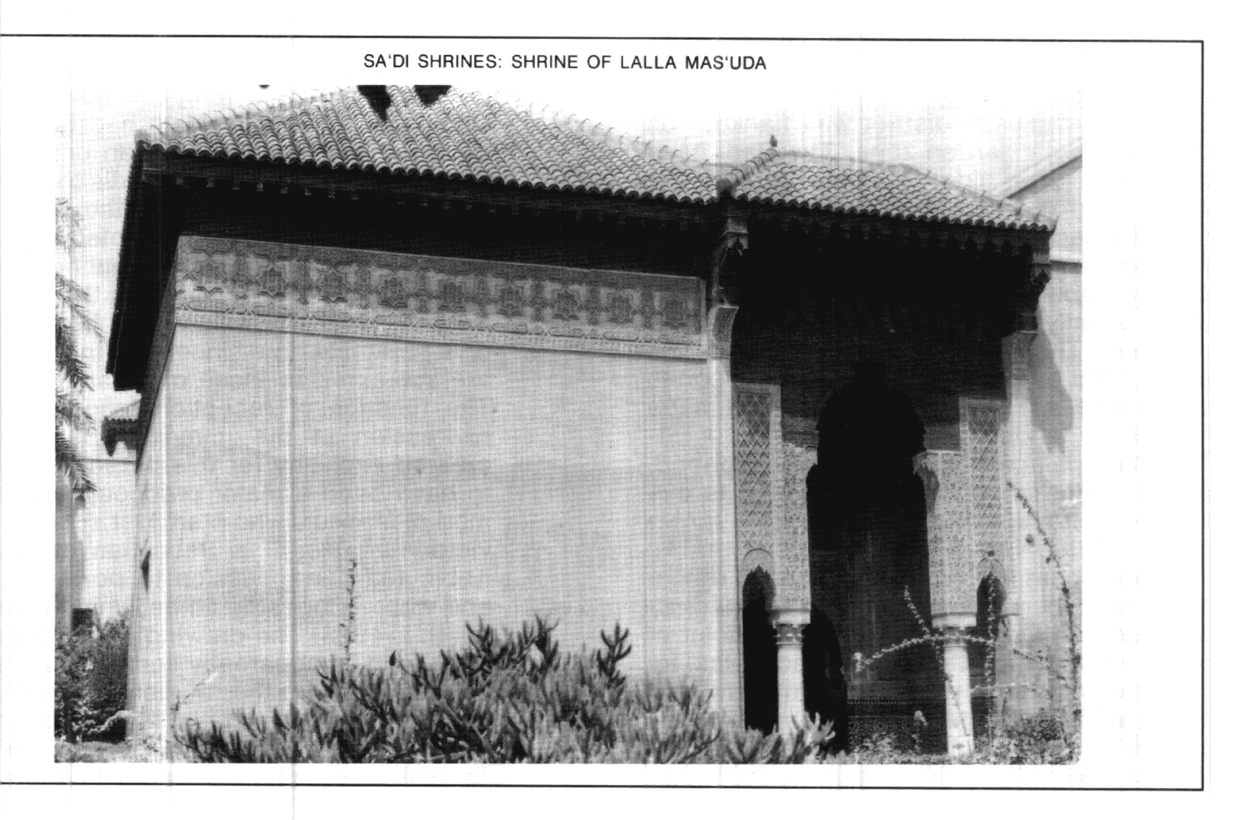
Although a first rampart enclosed the whole qasaba and a second rampart the inner palace district, protection does not seem to have been a prevailing factor. The outer wall was several hundred years old and had not been restored; doors were numerous, particularly in the north, towards the madina. Furthermore, the location of the Audience Palace obliged every visitor to enter the innermost part of the qasaba. The royal city was thus comparatively open, particularly when compared to that of the successors of the Sadis, Alawi Meknes.

The religious function is still discernible: the Friday Mosque and the mosque of the Sadi necropolis are preserved, though the existence of a small mosque near the Asaraq and another small mosque within the inner palace district are known only by descriptions. The reference to the Almohads is striking: it consists first in the fact that the Sadis simply took over the Almohad Great Mosque and then installed their dynastic shrines under its nearby protection. This is hard to understand from a religious point of view, since the Almohad schism had been abandoned a long time ago. It can only be explained by the desire of the Sadis to legitimize their own authority through the prestige of the Almohads who were accepted not as religious innovators but as national heroes. The assimilation of the religious to the secular is universal in the Islamic world, but here take on a particular note since doctrinal questions are submitted to those of prestige politics.

The function of reception found a brilliant expression in the immense Badi palace, created explicitly for this purpose. It seems to have been a major preoccupation of Ahmad al-Mansur, who started it soon after his victory against Don Sebastian at Ksar al-Kebir and his accession to power in 1578, and who did not stop embellishing it until his death in 1603. The drawing of 1585 shows it already in an apparently complete state. The descriptions of the audiences are picturesque, dwelling on the splendour of the architecture, the social status of the assembled people, the martial bearing of the

guard, on eating, on recitations of religious poems, on the gifts of the sultan and on prayers.[35]
The importance which Ahmad gave to this building, its size and its sumptuousness, tallies with the literary sources. Ahmad seems to have preferred the diplomatic rôle to that of a warrior. He wanted to impress and to convince, not so much by heavy defensive constructions, as by the beauty and the splendour of his receptions. The contrast to Meknes, again, is startling.
The forms taken by the function of housing cannot be precisely determined. The types of lodging belonging to the various social levels of the population of this city are now definitively lost; only the dwellings of the Christian slaves are known from description,[36] but these are not precise, and the prisons of the slaves are not characteristic for the rest of the inhabitants.
The function of acquiring and stocking of goods needs comment. Although there are mentions of powder magazines, these are comparatively few; on the other hand, the customs houses, especially for the Christians, appear to have been numerous. One


PLAN OF THE BADI' PALACE (FROMA DEVERDUN)

SA'DI SHRINES: SHRINE OF LALLA MAS'UDA


of these was situated near the centre of the inner palace district. This means that even the Christians had easy access to this part. The particularly violent anti-Christian propaganda of less than 50 years before seems to have been forgotten. As a matter of fact, Ahmad himself was interested in trade and favoured it as much as possible; he seems to have preferred active trade to passive storage.

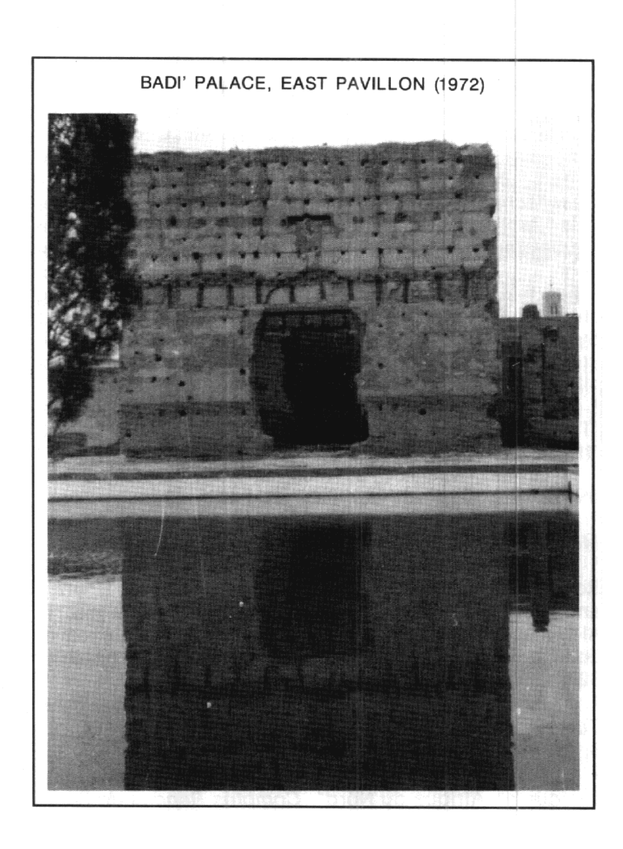
CONCLUSIONS

Thanks to the Portuguese drawing and to contemporary descriptions, it is possible to reconstitute and to interpret the ruins of the Sadi qasaba. The function of protection obviously did not take a preponderant place in the mind of its builders. The relations with the madina must have been peaceful, since the rampart on the madina side (north) was particularly at risk with at least three doors. Contacts with strangers, Christians as well as other Muslims, were frequent and trusting, based on trade and diplomacy, and there are several architectural arrangements which give evidence of this. The reception buildings were remarkable and dominated the layout of the qasaba. Architecture shows that the religious function was assimilated in a specific way in accordance with the desire to legitimate the secular power of the dynasty. An analogous use of religion is perceptible up to the court ceremonial (known by descriptions) and up to the architectural decoration (in the ornamental inscriptions in the Badi where prayers and religious invocations are constantly integrated in the context of autocratic presentation of ther sovereign's glory).
Even though the particular architectural forms of the Sadi qasaba are specific, as a whole it follows the general principles of Islamic royal cities. Its size, its surrounding ramparts and its Friday Mosque near the entrance making it accessible to the inhabitants of the madina as well as of the qasaba are common features. It had its military and its official quarters (at the west and at the southwest sides), its tribunal near the entrance to the royal lodgings and, above all, the great place, Asaraq or Mashwar, equally common, between the public area and the royal living quarters. The rough division into open quarters, into half-open administrative parts and into private and closed parts is normal for this type of town.

But it is this last division, which seems omnipresent in Islamic royal town planning, that is not clearly delimited here. The placing of the official Audience Palace in the living quarter, the Christian customs house near the same quarter, and the surrounding public gardens are surprising features. The relative accessibility and number of buildings intended for pleasure make this qasaba more akin to Nasrid Alhambra than to Alawi Meknes, in spite of the undoubtedly North African style of the whole.
Like the Alhambra, the Sadi qasaba is a dynastic royal city, but its creation is much easier to identify: it can be attributed to two sovereigns who were brothers, Mawlay Abd Allah and Ahmad al-Mansur. If the first started the construction, it is nevertheless the latter who gave it its decisive character. As we can actually comprehend it is the architectural achievement created by and for Ahmad. This sovereign was known as a cultivated, open-minded, reflective and well organized personality, and his reign was a period of peace and prosperity for Morocco. His royal city bears witness to this.

Marianne Barrucand

BADI' PALACE, EAST PAVILLON (1972)



[1] The bibliography on Islamic urbanism has become very abundant during the last 20 years. There are all-embracing synthesis as well as detailed studies of particular towns. Geographical field work, archaeological surveys, historical and philosophical research has resulted in a considerable refinement of knowledge. Of the various colloquiums which have been dedicated to the subject of the Islamic city, two are particularly important: A.H. Hourani and S.M. Stern, eds., *The Islamic City*, Oxford 1970 (colloquium of 1965), and I.M. Lapidus, ed., *Middle Eastern Cities*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969 (colloquium of 1966). These two books and the following publications will permit to the reader to restitute the essential of the general bibliography: E. Wirth, "Die orientalische Stadt. Ein U berblick aufgrund jüngerer Forschungen zur materiellen Kultur", *Saeculum*, 26 (1975), pp. 45-94 (mainly geographical approach); I.M. Lapidus, *Muslim Cities in the later Middle Ages*, Cambridge 1984 (2nd edition); B. Johansen, "The all-embracing town and its mosques: al-misr al-gami'", *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée*, 32, 1982, 1-2, pp. 139-161 (historico-philosophical approach). The two precedent issues of *Environmental Design* (n. 0, 1984 and n. 1, 1985) are devoted to Islamic urbanism in India and in Maghrib (mainly archaeological approach).

[2] The coherence of this group has already been recognized by G. Marcais, *Manuel d'art musulman. L'architecture: Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*, Paris, 1926-27, t. 2, pp. 502-510. See equally E. Levi-Provencal, *L'Espagne Musulmane au Xe siècle. Institutions et vie sociale*, Paris, 1932, pp. 222-230. More recently: A. et O. Grabar, "L'essor des arts inspirés par les cours princières à la fin du Iier millénaire: Princes musulmans et princes chrétiens", *L'Occidente e l'Islam nell'alto medioevo*, Spoleto, 1965, vol. 2, p. 850-858 and, particularly, J. Sourdel-Thomine, "L'expression symbolique de l'autorité dans l'art islamique", *La notion d'autorité au Moyen-Age. Islam, Byzance, Occident*, Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1982, pp. 273-286. Nevertheless, very few studies have been devoted to the subject of royal urbanism. Cf. H. Terrasse, *Villes impériales du Maroc*, Grenoble, 1937; M. Barrucand, "Stadtgründunges als Herrschaftssymbol. Bemerkungen zur Architektur islamischer Herrscherstädte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, suppl. VI, 1985, pp. 395-403; for a more detailed bibliography, cf. M. Barrucand, *L'urbanisme princier islamique. Meknès*, Paris, Geuthner, 1986, "Introduction".

[3] For this huge subject see the recent and interesting study of R. Hillenbrand, "La Dolce Vita in early Islamic Syria: the evidence of later Umayyad palaces", *Art History*, 5 (1) 1982, pp. 1-35, (with a great number of bibliographical notes).

[4] The most important reference remains M. Chehab, "The Umayyad Palace at Anjar", *Ars Orientalis* 5 (1963), pp. 18-24.

[5] O. Grabar, R. Holod, J. Knustad, W. Trousdale, *City in the Desert. Qasr al-Hayr East*, Harvard, 1978.

[6] J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages. Text and Studies*, Detroit, 1970.

[7] The most recent publications to this subject are: M. Rogers, "A study in medieval town-planning", In Hourani and Stern, *The Islamic City*, cf. note 1, pp. 119-155; T. Al-Ganabi, "Islamic archaeology in Iraq: recent excavations at Samarra", *World Archaeology* 14 (1983), pp. 305-327.

[8] G. Marcais, *L'architecture musulmane d'Occident. Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile*, Paris, 1954, pp. 6, 26-28.

[9] M. Terrasse, "Recherches archéologiques d'époque islamique en Afrique du Nord", *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1976, pp. 591-595.

[10] K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols., New York, 1978 (2nd ed.), vol. 1, pp. 19-35.

[11] R. Castejon Y Martinez De Arizala, *Medina Azahara*, Leon, 1982.

[12] L. Golvin, *Recherches archéologiques à la Qal'a des Banu Hammad*, Paris, 1965.

[13] G. Deverdun, *Marrakech. Des Origines à 1912*, 2 vols., Rabat 1959-66, T. 1, pp. 152-301.

[14] J. Caille, *La ville de Rabat jusqu'au Protectorat français*, 3 vols. Paris, 1949.

[15] R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca, 1949.

[16] The most recent books on this subject are O. Grabar, *The Alhambra*, London, 1978 and A. Fernandez-Puertas, *La fachada del Palacio de Comares*, Granada, 1980.

[17] Cf. op. cit., note 13, pp. 249-462.

[18] M. Barrucand, *L'architecture de la Qasba de Moulay Ismaïl à Meknes*, 2 vols., Rabat, 1976 (*Etudes et Travaux d'Archéologie Marocaine*, 6).

[19] Cf. op. cit., note 13, pp. 465-601.

[20] D. Schlumberger and J. Sourdel-Thomine, *Lashkari Bazar. Une résidence royale ghaznévide et ghoride*, 3 vols., Paris, 1978 (*Mémoires de la Délègation Française en Afghanistan*, 18).

[21] B. Brentjes, *Mittelasien-Kunst des Islam*, Leipzig, 1979, pp. 85-87.

[22] H. Gaube, "Die Auszenstadt Herats als Ausgangspunkt eines neuen städtebaulichen Konzepts", *Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients*, ser. B, n. 24 (1977), pp. 213-240.

MIHRAB OF THE MOSQUE OF THE SA'DI SHRINE

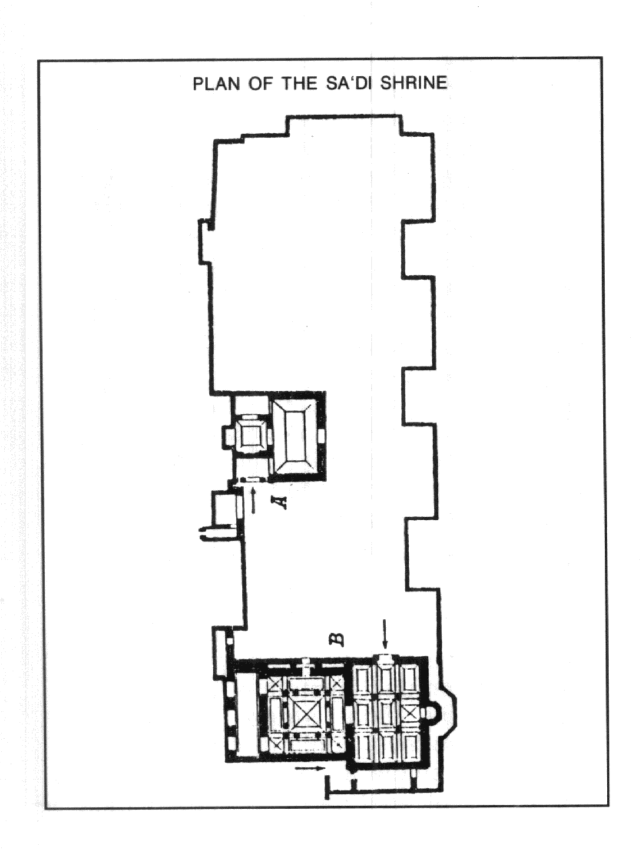
[23] B. Brentjes, op. cit., note 21, pp. 123-125, 127-128. See equally E. Giese, "Aufbau, Entwicklung und Genese der islamischorientalischen Stadt", *Erdkunde* 34 (1980), pp. 49, 50, 52.

[24] E. Galdieri, "Relecture d'une gravure allemande du XVII[e] siècle comme introduction à une recherche archéologique", *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, suppl. vol. 1979, pp. 560-570. See equally *Iranian Studies* 7, 1974 and G. Zander, ed., *Travaux de restauration des monuments historiques en Iran Rapports et études préliminaires*, Rome (IsMEO), 1968.

[25] P. Brown, *Indian Architecture. The Islamic Period*, Bombay n.d. (3th edition), pp. 95-134 remains very useful in spite of its age. See equally A. Volwahsen, *Inde islamique*, Fribourg, 1971, pp. 131-172. For Agra: Nurul Hasan, "Āgra", in *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (2), v. 1, pp. 260-262, for Lahore: J. Mayer, *Lahore. Entwicklung und räumliche Ordnung seines zentralen Geschäftsbereiches*, Erlangen, 1979, pp. 3-8, 18; P.A. Andrews, "Lāhawr", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam* (2), v. 5, pp. 601-605; pour Allahabad: Nurul Hasan, "Allâhâbâd", *Encuclopédie de l'Islam* (2), v. 1, p. 429; for Shajahanabad: J. Burton-Page, "Dihlî", *Encyclopédie de l'Islam*, v. 2, pp. 263-274.

[26] S.A.A. Rizvi and V.J. Flynn, *Fathpür Sîkrî*, Bombay 1975; M. Brand and G.D. Lowry, eds., *Fatehpur Sikri: A Sourcebook*, Cambridge, Mass., 1985; A. Petruccioli, "The Process evolved by the Control Systems of Urban Design in the Moghul Epoch in India: the case of Fathpur Sikri", *Architectural Design*, 1984, pp. 18-27.

[27] D. Schlingloff, "Die altindische Stadt. Eine vergleichende Untersuchung", *Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen. Geistes- und sozialwissenschaftl. Klasse* 5, 1969, pp. 79-141.



[28] S.H. Eldem and F. Akozan, *Topkapî Sarayî, bir mimarî araştîrma*, 2 vols., Istanbul, 1983.

[29] The Portuguese drawing belongs to a manuscript of the Escurial Library, cf. H. Koehler, "La casbah saadienne de Marrakech, d'après un plan manuscrit de 1585", *Hesperis* 37 (1940), pp. 1-20. European descriptions: D. De Torres, *Histoire des chérifs et des royaumes de Maroc...*, transl. from Spanish by the Duke of Angoulème, Paris, 1667; L. De Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion general de Affrica*, 3 vols., Granada 1573, French translation: *L'Affrique*, by Nicolas Perrot d'Ablancourt, 3 vols., Paris, 1667; Matias De San Francisco, *Relacion des viage spiritual...*, Madrid, 1644; H. De Castries, C. and P. Cenival, Ph. De Cosse-Brisac, C. De La Veronne, eds., *Sources Inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc, 1ière série; Dynastie saadienne*, 21 vols., Paris, from 1906 on. For the Arabic sources, see Muhammad Al-Yafrānī, *Nuzhat al-ḥādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-qarn al-ḥādī*, lith. Fez, 1307 (1889-90), transl. Houdas, *Histoire de la dynastie saadienne ai Maroc*, 2 vols., Paris, 1888-89; see equally the anonymous chronicle *Tā'rīkh al-dawla al-sa diyya*, Rabat, 1934 (G.S. Colin ed.), transl. by E. Fagnan, *Extraits inédits relatifs au Maghreb*, Alger, 1924. See M. Hajji, *L'Activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque Sa'-dide*, Rabat, 1976.

[30] Cf. Koehler, op. cit., note 29, p. 7.

[31] Cf. Koehler, pp. 7, 8, 18, 19; Deverdun, op. cit., note 13, p. 362, 385. See equally H. Koehler (ed.), *Relation de la vie et de la mort de sept jeunes gens que Mouley Hamet, Roy du Maroc, tua parce qu'ils étaient chrétiens...*, Rabat, 1937.

[32] Marmol says 1596, Torres 1562, al Yafrani 981 H, 1573-74; Marmol being generally well informed, most authors follow his dating.

[33] The word mashwar is actually used in Morocco for these spacious places situated in front of the sultan's palaces and destined particularly to military parades. The word asaraq is of Berber origins and means generally "courtyard", in (closed) "space". Only in Marrakesh and in Tunis did it designate the Royal Place; in the qasaba of Meknes, it is reserved to a long passage between the different parts of the royal city. For Tunis, see A. Daoulatli, *La Kasbah de Tunis*, Tunis, 1974.

[34] Judging from the description of Thomas Legendre, in Marrakesh between 1618 and 1625 (*Sources Inédites...*, op. cit., note 29, France, v. 2, p. 400).

[35] Particularly that of Abū l-Ḥasan Alī b. Muḥammad Al-Tamghrūtī, *al-Nafṭht al-miskiyya fī l-sifāra al.tūrkiyya, Relation d'une ambassade marocaine en Turquie 1589-1591*, H. De Castries, ed., Paris, 1929, p. 88-92. See equally Deverdun, op. cit., p. 401.

[36] The Christian slaves seem to have lived first in the houses of the Christian militia and then in the no longer used Almohad granaries. The descriptions make obvious that the houses of the militia had a patio, whereas the granaries were vauled halls divided in a lower and a upper storey. Cf. Koehler, op. cit., n. 31.